1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
OI20 Tiwi OI20

in the party who carried only ordinary ones. The painted spears were symbols of wealth and status and roughly corresponded to white tie and tails in our culture. No important man could afford not to have them, even though for most of the year they were unused. Before leaving home on a journey, it was often necessary for a man to renew the paint on his spears, for it rubbed off easily. Since paint was an aspect of ritual, its use, even the renewal of old paint, was senior men's prerogative; women were not supposed to touch it.[6] The analogy with formal dress even extended to the borrowing of ceremonial spears. An important man, caught short of them, might borrow some from a contemporary who had plenty, and though everybody would know that his spears were borrowed, he at least was properly dressed for the occasion, though stark naked otherwise.

Baskets made of bark with gummed sides were made by the women, but the painted designs upon these baskets were applied by the men, in line with their monopoly on all work that required paint. These baskets of various sizes but little variation in shape were used for all domestic tasks involving the collection, storing, transporting, and preparing of vegetable foods, and were sufficiently watertight to enable water also to be carried in them. Ordinary wooden spears (without barbs or painted designs) and a great variety of throwing sticks were made by all men, young or old, but important old men bothered with them very little, considering such routine manufacture beneath them. These workaday spears and throwing sticks lay around every camp in abundance, and a man who needed spears or sticks in a hurry could always gather up a bundle in a few minutes. Small boys picked up the techniques of making spears and throwing sticks by spending time with older boys who in turn improved their skill both in making and using hunting weapons by spending time with the local young men.

Although much of this learning was fairly random, other instruction was not. During his initiation period a youth spent long intervals isolated in the bush with a couple of older teachers from whom he received training in religious and ritual matters. At the same time, of course, it was inevitable that the novice absorb some of the older men's experience in bushcraft. There was no corresponding initiation period for girls. What they learned, they learned first from the older women of their childhood household and later from the older women of the husband's household into which they moved as child-brides after puberty. In all households the supervision by the elderly women of all younger women included the training of both female children and young wives in the things all females should know—things which were mostly concerned with collecting and preparing vegetable foods and the making of baskets.

In pre-white times Tiwi males wore no clothing whatever. The Mission insisted on calico loincloths, but, at least in the 1928-29 period, one could

[6] Female mourners were required to daub their bodies with white clay as a sign of mourning, but this paint was smeared haphazardly over their bodies and faces without any attempt at regularity or design, in contrast to the careful paint designs on the men's bodies.

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
OI20 Tiwi OI20

observe the spontaneous gesture with which men, on leaving the Mission, automatically threw off their loincloths at the Mission fence and headed for the bush as naked as the day they were born. Women, in pre-white days, habitually carried a piece of bark which they held in front of themselves whenever they met a male. As soon as string or rope was introduced by the early white contacts, the women found it more convenient to tie some sort of band around their waists and double the piece of bark over this waistband. This was much handier since it left the hands free, but the bark, being stiff and unsecured, was at best a very capricious covering, and old women in the midst of public arguments often tore off their aprons and threw them at their opponents as a gesture of contempt.

Young women were more decorous and fussed modestly with their bark aprons when young men were present rather in the same way as American coeds fuss with their skirts in crowded classrooms. Theoretically, young women were supposed never to meet either young men or men outside their own household, and so the bark apron, carried in the hand, was in aboriginal times merely something to have in case of emergency. It was noticeable in Tiwi ceremonies that when the women danced, they did nothing with their hands. We think this was because, in pre-white days, their right hands, at least, were needed to hold their bark aprons in front of their pubic regions, since at dances they were in the presence of strange men.

This brief account of the daily and yearly life of the Tiwi households enables us to draw a few important conclusions about their economic life:

1. Compared with many of the mainland tribes, the Tiwi were economically rather well-off, in that the bigger household units were usually able to produce a food surplus.

2. This food surplus varied directly with the number of working wives that a household head possessed.

3. A household head with many wives was therefore, in Tiwi terms, a wealthy man who could retire entirely from the food quest and devote his time to other activities.

4. Such men were able to devote full time to other activities such as manufacturing useful and ceremonial objects and participation in ceremonial affairs and public life.

5. Wealthy men, active in one or all of these pursuits, were the "big men" of the tribe. In each band there were two or three such men, and in the whole tribe perhaps less than twenty had attained full success or were ranked by public opinion as being the most admired and influential. The next chapter examines the career patterns by which every male Tiwi sought to become, and a few succeeded in becoming, a big man.

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2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

A

B

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PLATE 24. *The Pukamuni Rituals*
A, Feeding Pukamuni Man; B, Rite of Wandiatapinda; C, The Grave; D, Belongings of Dead Man, Waniamperi.

Cp. 72 A)

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2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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[cp. 72 &]

A B C D

PLATE 25. *The Pukamuni Rituals*

A, Young Girls and Men Dancing; B, Feeding Pukamuni Workers; C, Women and Boys Dancing; D, Ceremonial Fight at Ilanla.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

A B C D

PLATE 26. *The Final Pukamuni Rituals*
A, Erecting Poles on Grave; B, Arranging Gifts for Workers; C, The Basket Dance; D, Urumatjina's Dance.

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2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
O120 Tiwi O120

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B

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PLATE 27. *The Final Pukamuni Rituals*
A, Chief Woman Mourner; B, Scene at Burial Poles; C, Mourning at Burial Poles; D, Presentation of Gifts.

Cp. 72 O]

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2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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PLATE 29. *Totemic Dances*
A, Jabiru, Tjalati; B, Owl, Pintoma; C, Lizard, Kilpuruni; D, Frog, Kwouk-kwouk.

[Cp. 88 A]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

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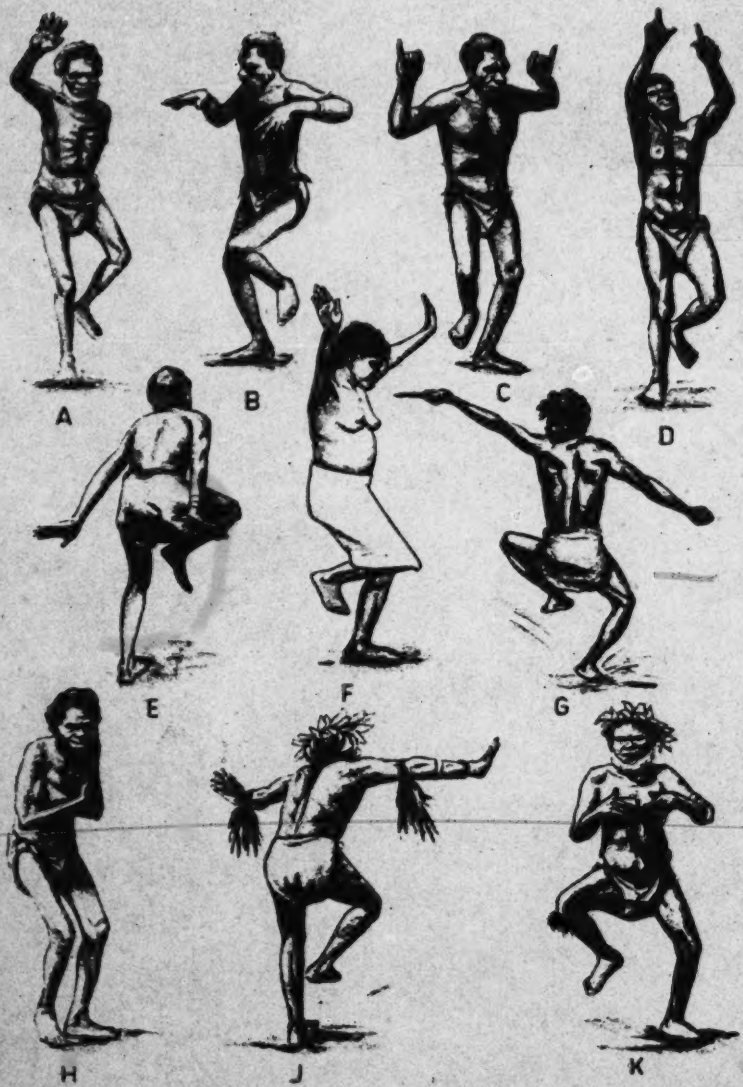

PLATE 30. *Totemic Dances*
A, Moon; B, Rain; C, Flying Fox; D, Wild Honey; E, Crocodile; F, Amburu; G, Shark; H, Skinny Fish; J, Sea-eagle; K, Ningaui.

[p. 88 B]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

etc., old and young crocodiles; *e*, *e*, etc., turtles; *f*, *f*, etc., octopi, and *d*, *d*, etc., crabs. Panel 17 is a creek in the mangrove swamps, in which the aborigines anchor their canoes, *c*, *c*, etc. In this creek are octopi, *f*, *f*, etc.

Panels 16–26 illustrate the sea-shore and the waves. The series of vertical parallel lines in each panel are the incoming lines of waves; the ovals, such as *k*, are the shells on the sandy bottom, and the curving panels, similar to *m*, the waves breaking on the beach.

The pole shapes of Pl. 37b, which the aborigines looked upon as a young woman, are: *a*, her hat; *b*, her neck, and *s*, her ribs. Sections *c*, *c*, *c*, are large rocks on the sea-shore.

The meaning of the designs painted on the same pole are: the chevrons on the top of the pole at *a* are spider webs in the jungle; the bands, *b*, rocks of different colours on the beach; diamonds on *c*, *c*, *c*, *c*, the check designs on the printed calico of the young woman's skirt; *d*, *d*, *d*, her belts of different colours, and *e*, is the coloured cloth she used as a head band.

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In general, the pole shapes of Pl. 32a, represent a tree. The projections, *g*, are the branches; the two upper cylindrical sections, *m*, *m*, the boles; the opening, *k*, is a hollow and the lower sections, the trunk.

The painted designs in the rectangles covering the pole each have similar meanings. The intersecting diagonal lines (see inset), *c*, *c*, *c*, *c*, symbolize the pattern on the back, and the groups of vertical parallel lines, *a*, *a*, those on the side of a reef fish, called *prunaia*. The long white lines, *e*, *e*, are stripes, and *d*, *d*, *d*, *d*, dots on the bodies of the *Maludaiuini* caterpillars which later were transformed into the men of the Milky Way. The dotted triangles, *b*, *b*, represent the shell pattern on the back of the hawkbill turtle, *Garugalani*.

In the pole shapes of Pl. 36c, the upper projection, *a*, is a cycad palm; *c*, *c*, are the breasts of women, and *e*, *e*, *e*, edible yams.

The painted rectangles on sections *d* and *f* refer, almost exclusively, to different kinds of food, although some common objects, such as throwing sticks, baskets and spears are represented. I did not find out the meanings of the designs on the lowest section.

The pole shapes, illustrated on Pl. 36a, b, are: *a*, the bow of a wooden canoe, and the oval designs at *c*, the paint on its sides.

On section *b*, of Pl. 36a, the painted diamond pattern *g*, is the body of a goanna, the triangle, *k*, its tail, and the dots are its eggs.

The intersecting lines on the other side of the same section (Pl. 36a), symbolize the ribs of a goanna, and the cross-hatched diamonds, the marks on its skin.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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and Pl. 34F, a small son. As before, the shape of the pole had one set of meanings, and the designs painted on them another.

The two projections, *a*, on Pl. 34B, represent the fork, and the central white section, *d*, is the bole of a eucalyptus tree. The sections above and below *d*, are large rocks on the beach.

The central transverse painted bands, *b*, *b*, are women's leather trade belts, the vertical panels, *c*, etc., in the upper section, crocodile's intestines, and the cross-hatched panels, *g*, etc., crocodile's backbone. On the lower section, *f*, etc., are turtle intestines, and the cross-hatched panels, *e*, etc., chevron body scars.

The significance of the shapes of Pl. 34A, reading from the top are: the white top, *k*, a European hat; *s*, its rim; the openings, *c*, *c*, windows, and *p*, *r*, tree trunks.

The white vertical panels, *a*, indicate a turtle's vertebrae, and the adjacent cross-hatched panels, *b*, its intestines. White bands, *e*, *e*, are *pukamuni* cane arm ornaments (*jairinis*, Pl. 31H), and cross-hatched bands, *d*, *d*, chevron body scars.

Transverse band *f*, is a leather belt; panels, *h*, are turtle's intestines; cross-hatched areas, *g*, etc., body scars. On *r*, the lowest section, band *m*, is a leather trade belt; the vertical panels, *o*, are turtle intestines, and the cross-hatched panels, *n*, body scars.

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The four projections, *a* (Pl. 34F), are branches of trees; *g*, is a hill; *h*, an edible yam, and *j*, a large rock on the coast.

The long white rectangles, *b*, etc., are small freshwater creeks, and the diagonal marks on *c*, body scars; yellow band *d*, is a male *Maratji* (p. 154). The chevron panels, *e*, etc., are female *Maratjis*, and the white rectangles, *f*, etc., thunderclouds associated with this dangerous mythical creature.

The meanings of the painted designs on 37C are: sections *a*, *a*, arm ornaments, *pukwatjinas* (Pl. 31E, F), and *b*, the false beard, *kaludi*, made of goose feathers (Pl. 31C), both of which are worn at the *pukamuni* ceremonies. Designs *c* and *d*, symbolize a stingray, *pukwadju*, and *e*, its body markings.

(c) *Miscellaneous*

Pl. 34C, D, pictures the crocodile-man, *Jirakupai*, who once lived in a lagoon near Cape Fourcroy (myth, p. 27).

The forearms of the crocodile are at *a*, the V-shaped design, *b*, representing its lower jaw. The head is at *c*, the chest at *d*, the neck at *e*, the nose (crossed lines) at *f*, the spinal crest at *g*, and the scale pattern on its back at *h*, *h*.

On Pl. 37E the upper projections *a*, *a*, symbolize the limbs of a tree. The

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

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PLATE 38. *Carved and Painted Burial Poles*
A, B, C, Carved and Painted Pole on Old Grave; D, Poles on Old Grave.

[p. 120 F]

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

304 In a few instances, a horizontal row of small circular scars was noticed beneath the cicatrices of the chest, extending from the axillar to the sternal-line, on one half of the body only. They appeared to have been burned into the skin by the heated end of a fire-stick[1] (*vide* Fig. 2, A).

Circumcision not practised.

304 101 171 681 Circumcision is not, as elsewhere in Australia, one of the attendant mutilations during the ceremonies of initiation, at the age of puberty. No cases were noted either on Bathurst or Melville Island. In this respect the Islanders resemble the fast disappearing Larrekiyas of the Port Darwin district and certain other tribes of Cape York and the adjoining islands.[2]

302 516 The pubic hairs are removed by "pulling them out" with the hand in the same way as the upper lip is cleared of its growth. While standing in conversation, the natives have acquired a peculiar habit of pushing the penis back between the thighs and keeping it from view by crossing one leg over the other.

Habitations.

342 The islanders build no permanent huts or structures to live under. Apart from the shelters afforded by local or natural conditions, such as overhanging trees, the only form of artificial shelter noticed was prepared from the bark of a tree. A long sheet is cut from the trunk and doubled crosswise at its centre. The two ends are then stuck into the ground at an angle of say forty-five degrees. Similar shelters are found on the north coast and elsewhere on the mainland. In the [101] absence of any more permanent structures, the islanders are, in this respect, not so far advanced as the continental Australian aboriginal. Camp fires are, as usual, 372 much in evidence and kept alight during the whole of the night. Fire-sticks are carried during the day time. Sticks and dry timber, collected to feed the fires, are broken to the required length, not across the knee but over the crown of the head. 513 Small sheets of paper bark (*Melaleuca sp.*) are used as mats to lie on when sleeping or camping.

Personal Wear.

291 302 Both male and female walk about in the nude state. The body is anointed with grease and besmeared, in one or more shades of colour, with ochre. The females carry folded sheets of paper bark or large food-carriers about with them, which, upon the approach of strangers, they hold in front of their person.

[171] It is of interest here to note that Captain Matthew Flinders,[3] as far back as 1803, made a similar observation on the mainland opposite. He saw a girl at Caledon Bay who "wore a small piece of bark, in guise of a fig leaf, which was the sole approximation to clothing seen."

[1] *Vide* also *Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Australia*, vol. xxxi, 1907, p. 10.
[2] *Cf.* J. MacGillivray, *Narrative Voyage H.M.S. "Rattlesnake,"* p. 14.
[3] *A Voyage to Terra Australis*, London, 1814, vol. ii, p. 212.

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 O120 Tiwi O120

PLATE X.

501 Fig. 1. "Fish-tail" bark canoes, Apsley Strait.
Fig. 2. "Fish-tail" bark canoes and "dug-out" canoe in the distance, Apsley Strait. Melville Island in the background.

PLATE XI.

Figs. 1 and 2. Bow and stern of "fish-tail" bark canoe. $\frac{1}{10}$ natural size.
Figs. 3 and 4. Balers made out of the melon shell. Fig. 3 shows the painted decoration of the outer surface; while in Fig. 4 it is seen how the columella of the shell has been removed with a sharp cutting instrument. $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.

PLATE XII.

314 396 137 Fig. 1. Forest scene on Bathurst Island. From the stringy-barked eucalyptus on the left side of the picture, the bark has been removed for the purpose of making a canoe. Another tree, which has been similarly treated, is seen in the background, near the centre of the picture. In the foreground note a tall specimen of the zamia-palm (*Cycas media*).
501 Fig. 2. Various types of paddles in use on Bathurst Island. About $\frac{1}{16}$ natural size.

PLATE XIII.

764 Figs. 1 and 2. Distant and near view of a native grave, surrounded by five carved and painted posts, Bathurst Island. Note the cleared space and the position of grave, viz.: at the junction between open woodland and thicket. A tall Bathurst Islander in seen in Fig. 2.

PLATE XIV.

415 Fig. 1. A melon-shell (*Melo dinduma*) used as a drinking vessel. $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.
Fig. 2. A *Fusus priesi* used as a drinking vessel. $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.
Figs. 3 and 4. Drinking cups made out of folded sheets of paper-bark (*Melaleuca*). $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.
532 764 Figs. 5a, 5b, 5c, 5d, 5e. Painted and carved posts of native grave shown in previous plate. $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.

PLATE XV.

415 Fig. 1. A series of four shells of the *Cyrena emingtonensis* which have been used for holding red, white and yellow earth-pigments to mix with water as required. $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.
317 396 Fig. 2. Lumps of yellow ochre (on the left), white pipe-clay (in the centre), and red ochre (on the right), used in the decoration of the grave posts shown in previous plate. $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.
413 Fig. 3. Primitive paint brushes made by macerating the ends of short pieces of the shoots of the climbing palm (*Calamus Australis*). $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.
301 Figs. 4 and 6. Special corrobboree arm-rings. $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.
532 Fig. 5. A corrobboree mask (?). $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.

PLATE XVI.

291 532 764 Figs. 1 and 2. Bathurst Island natives painting grave-posts. Note the cosmetic body-scars in imitation of the leaf of the zamia palm (*Cycas media*).

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

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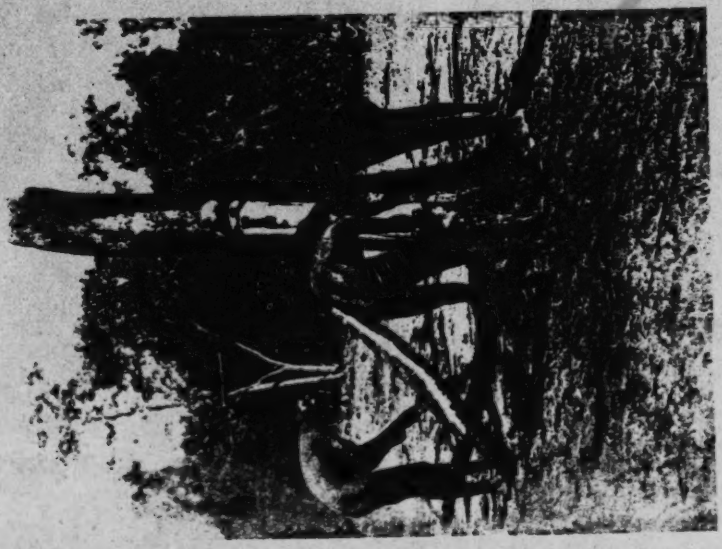

FIG. 2.

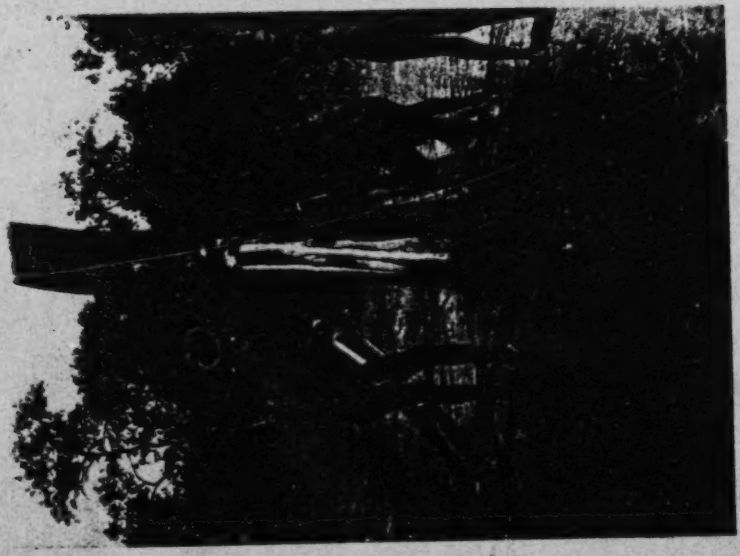

FIG. 1.

NOTES ON THE NATIVES OF BATHURST ISLAND, NORTH AUSTRALIA.

[END PLATE 10]

[FOR EXPLANATION SEE P. 322 - ANALYST]

11:Goodale E-5 (1964, 1967) 1963 CE20 Tiwi CE20

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SHARK DANCE is among traditional, imitative figures that are performed during ritual preparation of toxic *Kulama* yams.

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ceived additional instruction in spear-fishing and birding, while girls were taught more intensively to locate and identify edible plants. The children, as a result, were generally independent economically in their early teens, by

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which time the girls were already married. Young males contributed to their parents' larder and to other households, but did not marry and acquire households until they

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were more than thirty years old. Even now, this late marriage age obtains in theory, but not always in practice.

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THUS, to the Tiwi, economic independence and/or marriage did not alone signify adulthood. The Tiwi adult was intellectually, rather than physiologically, a mature individual who was expected to join actively in the non-economic affairs of the community. An adult was also expected to be almost entirely responsible for his own health, wealth, and future prospects. This included attaining success in hunting and in war and, for the men, in wife-collecting. If an adult became ill or was injured or, as a Tiwi would say, was unlucky in the pursuit of life's benefits, he alone was responsible for not behaving as an adult should.

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The annual *Kulama* ceremony, held by each community in April at the end of the rainy season, was a most important event to insure individual success. Although a collec-

[P. 11, (C)]
[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 12(C)]

[P. 12, (A)]

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BEFORE DIGGING YAMS, the ritual participants dip hands into white paint and pat it around eyes to insure acute vision.

11.Goodale F-5 (1954, 1959) 1963 C120 Tiwi C120

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[p. 15, (8)]

FATHER PAINTS GIRL to show how it would be done if she were to be initiated. Although no children of group were considered ready, ceremony was held to maintain benefits thought to accrue to the Tlwi who had undergone initiation.

11.Goodale S-5 (1954, 1955) 1955 OCSO Tlwi OCSO

11:Goodale E-5 (1954, 1962) 1963 .K20 Tiwi CK20

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HOT EARTH over baked *Kulama* yams is removed. Yams that are to be eaten at end of ritual must be resoaked in water.

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SOME COOKED YAMS are cut, peeled, and mashed. Water and paint are then added. Yams are always handled with respect.

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MEN RUB MASH on bodies to insure health, then do so to the uninitiated young, whose health is paternal responsibility.

[P. 16, (A)]

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Near end of Kulama ceremony, performer, although hoarse and tired, must continue to sing until late in the night.

[colors appearing in original:

Body - light purple with white.

Hair and beard - left: yellow, center stripe: red, right: white.

Red across nose and upper cheek. -- Analyst.]

[p. 19]

12:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1957 O120 Tiwi O120

Fig. 2. Dolly. The painted necklace is her ornament for the day.

was the increasing flocks of geese flying over to the east of us to their feeding grounds in the fresh-water swamps at the head of the Paluwiunga River. Since the Superintendent of the settlement had a plan to build a permanent camp for future crocodile hunts near this very spot, this seemed an ideal time for all concerned to make a trip to this area.

As there was a shortage of water transport (only four dug-out canoes and one small motor launch), the main group of twenty men, women, and children was taken in the canoes across Snake Bay the day before and left to "foot-walk" along the coast to the Paluwiunga. The Superintendent and his son went ahead in the motor launch and I followed the next day in "number one" canoe with my chosen companions. I had originally invited my chief informant Dolly and her husband Malony, but they had had a "proper row" a few nights previously and weren't speaking. Dolly would have come alone because the object of this row, her boy-friend, Billy-Two, was going, but public opinion was too strong in view of the very recent objection by her husband, and she begged out of the trip. In their place the choice of Albert and Agnes was obvious. They had been close associates of the expedition and of mine since our arrival. They were a young couple in their early twenties, but recently married, and very much in love—there would be no complicating boy-friend problems with them. But above all, Albert loved to hunt and he was a good man to be with in the bush. He was a quiet, serious young man and very modest about his accomplishments. Because of this he was not a good informant for native lore or customs; he would always refer us to the old men who knew much more than he. However, he was a conformist to these

12:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1957 OI20 Tiwi OI20

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Figs. 5 and 6. Probing in the sand at the head of turtle tracks sometimes locates a nest of eggs

12:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1957 OI20 Tiwi OI20

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Fig. 7. Agnes (left) and a friend admire a large mangrove crab

together with sharks, these waters contain the large and dangerous salt-water crocodile and all manner of poisonous jellyfish, one realizes that to swim around in a high sea in the pitch dark requires considerable courage. 123

Soon after we had crawled under the mosquito netting and between the blankets rain began to fall in a gentle and persistent way, but still not hard enough to prevent our falling asleep with little conversation.

It was hardly light the next morning when Agnes stood up and rewrapped her *saga*, a strip of calico, about her waist, then took up the billys and went to the well to draw water for the morning tea. Although the rain had been steady during the night, the well-built fire still had some life in it and after a few minutes of concentrated blowing, Albert had it rejuvenated. While the billy boiled, Big Jack shook as much of the wet sand as was possible from the blankets and rolled them into tight bundles. Then he set off to retrieve the canoe. By the time he reappeared, the tea was ready and it helped to wash down the leathery cold strips of damper sweetened with jam. [291] [372]

12:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1957 O120 Tiwi O120

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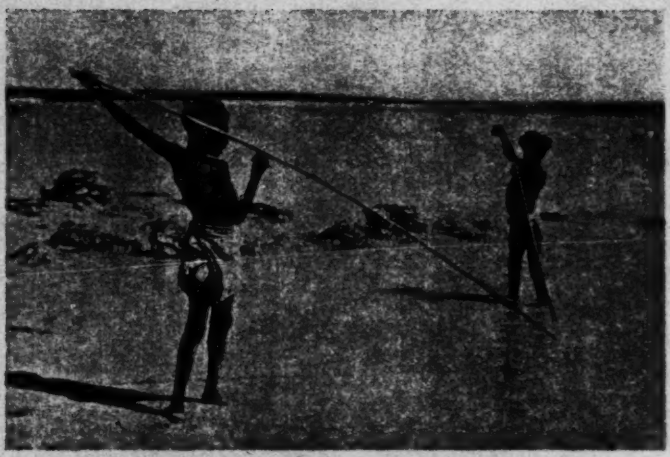

Fig. 9. Two young hunters practicing with fish-spears

123 the impenetrable jungle, which were attributed to the *Ningawi*, the
[176] weird and mysterious "little people" of the mangrove. Rounding a curve in the river, we surprised a flock of whistle ducks sitting on an exposed mudbank. Young Billy tried to shoot one for supper but missed, and soon they were well out of range. On a rare piece of solid ground we saw the long tail and massive hips of a startled
[136] wallaby as he hopped to safety. However, a successful throw of the fish-spear brought us a large barramundi, and the .22 rifle provided both a possum and a fruit bat, or flying fox, for supper.

All of a sudden the mangroves disappeared and our view was no longer restricted to the river bank; rather we gazed through
[137] thick, gnarled white paperbarks on the water's edge to wide expanses of marshy grasslands. A few flocks of black and white geese, which had returned to the swamps early in the evening, were startled by the sound of the motor and rose honking in fright.

About five, we reached Minianapi, a landing place about fifteen yards wide, where solid ground reached the river bank. We were

12:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1957 OI20 Tiwi OI20

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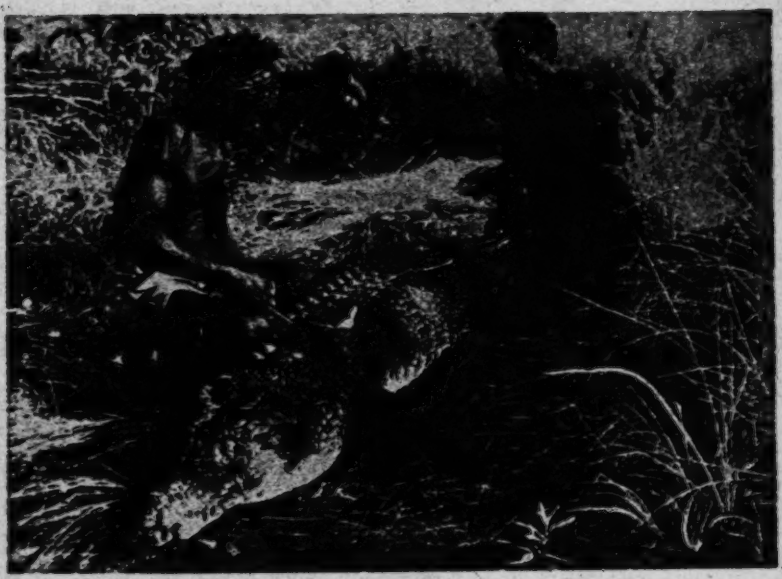

Fig. 10. Skinning a large crocodile

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pieces of the white meat were carried into the camp to be roasted for dinner. What was not to be consumed that night was thrown into the water, for meat spoils quickly in this sticky climate.

Darkness came early, and with it came the return of the goose hunters and the departure of the launch with the Grimsters and their crocodile team. Once more they would spend the night hunting crocodiles, this time downstream on their way back to the settlement. Soon many little fires broke up the darkness of the clearing and the smell of fresh roasting meat wafted over to where Albert, Agnes, Jack, and I were opening cans of corned beef. "Tomorrow we go bush," Albert remarked and I heartily assented.

Young Brook, a lean young man, and his wife, Alice,

12;Goodale E-5 (1954) 1957 OI20 Tiwi OI20

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Fig. 11. Even the youngest respect the teeth of the crocodile

approached our fire. "You savey goose?" he asked me. "Oh yes," I said, "we eat him along America." He handed me a large juicy leg which I gave to Albert to divide, then squatted down at the edge of the fire's glow. I handed my tin of tobacco to Alice and she filled her husband's pipe. Picking up a burning branch from the fire, she knocked a hot coal into the bowl of the pipe and began smoking. Soon she handed it to Young Brook. Suddenly our attention was directed to the opposite side of the clearing where Dennis, the four-year old daughter of Black Joe was crying hysterically. Tuki, a tall powerful man of fifty-five, was doing his best to calm her and disentangle himself from her clinging arms so that he could leave. Tuki and his wife, Fat Alice, were a childless couple and

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12:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1957 OI20 Tiwi OI20

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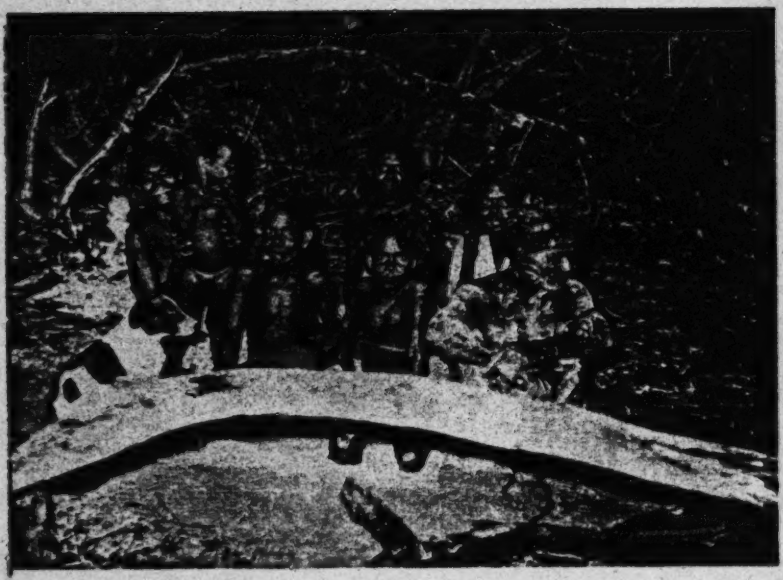

Fig. 12. A Tiwi family camped for the night

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Black Joe, Fat Alice's brother, had given them his eldest daughter in adoption. However, Dennis spent as much time with her proper parents as with her foster parents and it was quite evident that her affection was at least equally divided. Albert went over and managed to bring the screaming, kicking child back to our camp and asked me to give her some of the hard candy which I had brought with me. It was some time, however, before her attention was sufficiently distracted to allow Tuki and the other men to slip away into the canoe to hunt crocodiles for another night. Agnes commented to me, "Let him cry? That white man rule no good. By and by they go silly."

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We strolled back to Black Joe's camp with Dennis, and listened to a discussion concerning the superiority of crocodile hunting over

12:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1957 O120 Tiwi O120

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Fig. 13. Gathering water-lilies in a fresh-crater swamp

cut and after he had collected about thirty he selected a nice, smooth ledge of rock in the shade to work further on the sticks. First he stripped the bark, then measuring them against his arm he cut them so that each stick was as long as the distance from his fingertips to his elbow. All this he did with his knife, holding it by the tip of its long blade so that the handle would add its weight to each blow. He carefully smoothed off the two ends so there were no loose splinters. We each took a bundle of these sticks, tied them with strips of pandanus, and returned to the camp. Here they were laid in the water close to the bank and weighted down with a rock. This would make them good and heavy, it was explained.

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During the afternoon, the two men worked on the permanent house which Bill Grimster had ordered. Big Jack had spent the morning cutting posts and had brought in about half a dozen. By late afternoon, when the others returned, they had been set upright in holes dug to individual measure so that they stood firm without bracing.

Once everyone had returned, a fire was built. The men collected their individual bundles of *milingani* and placed the ends of the dripping sticks in the flames. They squatted over the sticks and individually started a chant during which they cupped their hands in the smoke and carrying it to their bodies, slapped their necks, then their arms. "Knar. Knar Gerra doo (slap), Gerra doo (slap)." The chant was nothing more than the imitation of the cries of the geese and the whir of the sticks. They explained that to bring the geese down they had to hit it directly on the neck or wings. "Why

12:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1957 OI20 Tiwi OI20

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Fig. 14. "Cooking milagwa!"

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do you cook the sticks?" I asked. "To make them dry so they won't slip in our hands," they replied.

Once the sticks were all well charred on the ends the men took them down to the canoe. For once, I used my status of ethnographer and overruled my role of a woman, and accompanied the men on what was properly men's business. The presence of women or children might bring bad luck. Whether the explanation was simply that women and children are considered to be lacking in the amount of silence or immobility required, or whether the reason was more subtle, I never found out. "This properly men's business," was the only explanation.

We took the canoe a quarter of a mile up stream, where we

12:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1957 O120 Tiwi O120

123 The following day we finally went hunting. Peter, his wife Dorrie, and daughter Althea, Filicy and her son Crissy-Boy, Albert, Agnes and I all squeezed into the canoe and paddled about two miles upstream to the next landing. Tudiunginarim, "white-paint-place," [177] used to be an old camp of the white buffalo shooter, Joe Cooper, who at the turn of the century was the first white contact for many of these people. It was very hot and the women took their children 123 into the water, waist deep near the bank, for a swim. It was easy • 291 for them in their *nagas*, for when they came out they merely wrapped a dry one around and slid the wet one off underneath very 515 modestly. I, in my shorts and shirt, finally gave in to the temptation 609 and, vowing that if I were to live here longer I would take up the native costume, went in fully dressed. This modesty was a funny thing; they who wore no clothes until contact with white men, were being modest only for my sake, and in return I could do no less. So with dripping clothes, which incidentally felt wonderful in the heat, I set off following Albert and Agnes.

123 The nature of the bush was the same as that in back of Minianapi and indeed the same as that around Snake Bay: the same 224 trees, the same burned earth, the same fan palms and pandanus, and the same flatness. The natives always knew where they were; I never did. We were looking for possums and as these furry marsupials sleep in hollow trees during the day, we investigated every likely tree for evidence that they had recently climbed it. Sometimes the little tears in the rough bark could only be seen silhouetted against the sun; at other times the dry ground around the base of the tree would show very definite tracks. Soon Agnes, who was off some-where to the left of Albert and me, gave two high-pitched calls. [198] In the hunting language I had already learned, one call meant "I'm here, where are you?" and would be answered by their companions with a similar single call. However, two calls meant "Come; I've found something." So we turned in the direction of the call and soon found Agnes standing by a short, hollow tree. Albert took his axe and cut a long pole which he then thrust up through a hole in the tree's base and wiggled. Out popped a large grey possum which sat on the top of the tree trying to make itself as small as possible. Agnes and Albert threw all manner of sticks and stones at it and finally managed to knock it down, when it scuttled away.

12:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1957 OI20 Tiwi OI20

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Fig. 20. Althea and Crissy-boy showing me the large snake which Filicy had killed

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262 cooked, with that delicious charcoal-broiled flavor so much sought after in our more elite dining establishments or in our backyards.

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224 Just as we had started our feast the other group arrived and soon had their fire started. Although no overt comparison of each other's catch was made, it was quite obvious that their hunt had been more successful. Besides the half dozen possums and two goanas, they brought over to show us an extremely large water [431] snake about ten or twelve feet long. Shortly, Filicy again came over and presented us with one of their possums. After this tre- [513] mendous feast, everyone stretched out and went to sleep, rousing only in time to arrive back at Minianapi in time to meet the geese. 123 All the way back in the canoe, Crissy-boy played with two hairless 231 baby possums, creating quite an uproar as he put them in everyone's 484 hair where they clung with their tiny feet. They died before we reached the shore and were thrown into the water. Althea was

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13:Barclay J-3 (ca. 1939)1939 CI20 Tiwi CI20

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BATHURST ISLAND NATIVES PRACTISING A CORROBOREE DANCE.

13:Barclay J-3 (ca. 1939)1939 OI20 Tiwi OI20

797 telephone, with which they keep in touch with the Presbytery in Darwin, not only were the good fathers there to greet us, but the children of the mission school had also been given a holiday to celebrate the occasion. Small boys and half-grown lads were there in force and soon crowded round the 'plane. The bearded men against the fence kept in the background, while women and girls peered over the stile that leads into the garden. Men and boys wore only the little nagas, women and girls a short sarong [291] —and they are all the better for this lack of clothing.

KINDLY and shrewd old Father Gaell, who founded the mission rather more than a quarter of a century ago, has his own ideas with regard to the black man. He does not ruin his health by dressing him (or her) up in mission clothing, and he sees that the blacks who come into the mission do not become mere spongers and hangers-on. When a black asks for flour or anything else that he requires, Father Gaell replies, "What have you to give for it?" He may have a spear, for which the good father has no use, but he will take it, or anything that the black can offer in payment. If the black's reply is "Nothing," Father Gaell will say "Well, you are a big, strong man; you can dig the garden."

It does not matter that the garden has been dug before. The thing is to keep the blacks from becoming cadgers. Treated so, they retain their self-respect and do not degenerate into useless loafers hanging round the mission station, just for what they can get without any effort. The mission fathers, of course, do all they can for the sick and injured—that is an entirely different matter. Every missionary who has been long on any field in North Australia must recognise that it is impossible to do anything with a full-grown black to alter his outlook in any way, and the methods of the Sacred Heart Mission must appeal to all unbigoted members of any church as admirable commonsense.

It is only with the very young that the missionaries can hope for any success in the inculcating of Christian ideals, and it is towards the little boys and girls that the good fathers look for 797 the reward of their self-sacrificing labours. They are able to get them, too, without pandering to the laziness of their parents. 562 The natives, who are always fond of children, are quite willing 567 to have their little boys well fed and well looked after; but, 439 when it comes to the girls, self-interest enters into the question. Little girls can be sold to the Japanese of the pearling fleets, [855] and the Japanese are liberal in the matter of prices.

FATHER Gaell must therefore buy the girls in competition with the Japanese. It has been said that this is countenancing a shameful and revolting slave-trade, and that to buy the girls is definitely wrong in principle. What would the worthy critics do? Are they content to see this dreadful traffic continued, or have they any practical alternative to offer? Father Gaell is trying at least to save as many girls as possible from the horrible fate in store for them. The regular patrol of North Australian waters by the forces of the Government may eventually put an end to the practice, but what of all these little girls in the meantime? As they grow up, the Christian boys and girls marry one another, and, as the Christians have one wife only, they are unwilling to sell or to hire her out to the Japanese. This, like all the dealings of the Sacred Heart Mission with the islanders, is based on practical common sense.

[p. 14(B)]

13:Barclay J-3 (ca. 1939)1939 O120 Tiwi O120

726 received any serious damage, and it seemed to have been a most enjoyable occasion. An islander, who had seen the world from the decks of many luggers, made a remark that was truer than he knew, "When white feller go to war, he takem rifle, he takem

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HUNTING TURTLE, FROM A DUG-OUT CANOE NEAR BATHURST ISLAND.

bomb. Some feller *must* be killed! White feller silly b——!" It cannot be said that the mission fathers have a dull time at Bathurst Island.

797 There are two sisters of the order at the Mission Station. In addition to teaching the girls, they attend to all household mat-

[p. 18(A)]